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Comment

GENERAL SMUTS' DEATH AND DEFEAT

GENERAL SMUTS must have died a very sad man. Although he could scarcely have been called a protagonist of native rights he was a great, undeviating champion of the unity of the British Commonwealth and the interdependence of nations. He battled, too, for the mandates system and was one of the architects of the United Nations Charter. Yet, in his last years, he was doomed to see his beloved South Africa stand alone in the world fighting the inglorious battle of white racial superiority, defying the United Nations, refusing to recognise the principle of trusteeship in regard to South-West Africa, and alienating the friendship of all other peoples. Practically his last public pronouncement, in a message sent from his sick-bed to an election meeting in South-West Africa, accused the Nationalists of isolationism 'in a world which is already inclined to be suspicious of us.' He implored the Government to confirm with the Hague Court decision on South-West Africa and to send reports to the United Nations on the administration of the territory. The complete victory of the Nationalists in South-West Africa, winning all six seats and giving Dr. Malan a safe majority with which to carry out his racial policy, must have been a final bitter blow for Smuts. He died leaving a situation fraught with danger and distress in the whole of Southern Africa. In the Rhodesias, Kenya, Tanganyika and Nyasaland there are Europeans whose own record towards the native populations among which they live is certainly not above reproach; but none of these people wish to be tarred with the brush of South African ex-

tremism. Threatened by Afrikaner immigration from within the Continent they are drawing themselves closer, even being forced into a mild liberalism to distinguish themselves from the South African reputation. Sir Godfrey Huggins, for example, has deleted from his Party's programme the proposal to prevent more Africans being put on the voters' roll in Southern Rhodesia. 'The only country in the world that would support this proposal,' he said, 'would be the Union of South Africa.'

DETERMINED ACTION IN EAST AFRICA ?

EVEN though they are rejecting the crudities of South African policy the British Colonies of East and Central Africa are still painfully undecided on their future course. Between the views of the local white communities and the views of His Majesty's Government in Britain stretches another yawning gap. How dangerous this, too, may be, was dramatically revealed by a recent incident in Tanganyika. Mr. John Dugdale, Minister of State at the Colonial Office was so incensed by the attitude of certain white settlers at a party in Tanganyika that in protest he and his wife left the gathering and refused to meet the settlers at a political meeting the next day. In a statement to the Press he said: 'The settlers of Kenya have views diametrically opposed to those of His Majesty's Government but they behave always like gentlemen. It was not until I got to Arusha that I met the type of settler one reads about in books—who, after my visit to Kenya I was beginning to think a myth—the man who believes that God made Africa for him to exploit and the African to serve him and do what he is told' . . . One statement made to him, continues *The Times* report, was such

that he thought a Minister responsible for African affairs should leave in protest, and he left. This unambiguous gesture on the part of Mr. Dugdale earns for him the gratitude and admiration of all who have been feeling that a stand should, once and for all, be taken against racial prejudice in Africa. But the dangers of the situation, with the European elements backed by increasing pressure from South Africa, make it imperative that this fine gesture should be followed by clear-cut action. We cannot let East African race relations drift any longer. There have been proposals for an authoritative Commission to study the position, but the day is long past when Commissions of experts could solve East Africa's problems *from outside*. What is needed is a Conference, under British impartial chairmanship, bringing together round the same table and in equal numbers the leaders of the different East African communities in each of the territories, to hammer out their problems face to face. There are intricate problems of land ownership, immigration, settlement and political representation which the local communities must grapple with themselves and find their own way to a compromise, for nothing suggested from outside could possibly be accepted by all. If this could be carried through soon it would be a fitting continuation of Mr. Dugdale's dramatic action.

CHANGE AT LAKE SUCCESS

IT is good to learn that Britain is to turn over a new leaf at Lake Success. When the Special Committee for Dependent Territories met in August, the British representative, at the opening of proceedings asked to make a statement on behalf of his government. He announced Britain's desire to co-operate in the work of the Committee which he felt might play a most useful role. But he wished to make quite clear that Britain denied that the Charter gave the United Nation's 'the right to supervise the administration of non-self-governing territories or to make metropolitan governments accountable to the United Nations.' With this reservation he hoped that debates would be conducted in a spirit of co-operation and that there would be a constructive inter-change of ideas and experiences. It is also reported from Lake Success that, in accordance with this new attitude, the British delegates have abandoned their former policy of withholding information and obstructing discussion, and of

meeting continuous slander with nothing but 'No' for an answer. Instead, they are assembling all the facts, meeting all criticism with analytical answers, and, according to the *Observer*, 'piling up irrefutable evidence that Britain is spending more money and using more skill, experience and resources in developing the backward areas of the world than any other nation.' The history of United Nations' work on dependent territories has been a stormy one, mainly due to the fact that the Colonies were used as a pawn in the political propaganda against the 'imperialist' powers. But although Britain was legally and technically justified by refusing to support this Special Committee or to lay full information before it, her attitude has done her immense moral damage in the eyes of the world. Now she has it within her power to give a very real leadership in colonial policy.

THE T.U.C. AND THE COLONIES

IN British politics, significant decisions may sometimes be taken in the most casual fashion. At the recent Annual Conference of the T.U.C. a step of the utmost importance to the Colonies was decided so unostentatiously that it was hardly noticed in the general Press. The Trade Union Congress decided to raise its own affiliation fees from 4d. a year for every member to 6d., and to use the product of half this increase for the purpose of helping trade union movements in India and the Colonies. It is estimated that this will enable about £37,000 to be spent on colonial work over the next two years. The General Council stated that its aim was to provide through education, through financial help, and through the appointment of Trade Union advisers, assistance to trade unions in the British Colonies. The new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is already helping inexperienced movements in undeveloped territories generally, but the British Trade Unions recognise a direct responsibility of their own to India and Pakistan as well as to Africa, Malaya and the West Indies. The difficulty of finding the right kind of people to act as advisers is recognised and the actual problems in many of the Colonies understood. Colonial Trade Union movements in some areas have, not unnaturally, become the spearhead of the nationalist movements and any help—even the help of trade unionists—from Britain is suspect. It is, nevertheless, a brave and generous step of the T.U.C.

SELF-GOVERNMENT OR BRITISH PROTECTION?

by

Godwin A. M. Lewanika

(President, Northern Rhodesian African Congress)

NEARLY two years ago, European "representatives" from Northern and Southern Rhodesia met at Victoria Falls to discuss the possibility of federating these territories. Now we read that a new approach is being made to the whole question. After a visit to this country, Mr. Roy Welensky, leader of the elected members of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia, visited Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. They have agreed that a comparative study of the laws affecting Africans in the three territories should be made. They evidently hope to be able to make new proposals to the Colonial Office which will be more acceptable to African opinion, and to the British Government, than their first proposals.

Mr. Welensky's views on the subject are well-known, for he expressed them in a broadcast in May,* when he said that the choice facing the people of Northern Rhodesia was either to press on for federation and become part of the new dominion, or self-government.

He went on to say that he thought the people on the spot should carry out the policy. The difficulties were that the British Government felt it had special responsibilities and there appeared to be doubt whether the people on the spot were fit to undertake those responsibilities. The difficulties were more apparent than real.

Mr. Welensky said he saw little difference in the native policies of the two Rhodesias. "I think Southern Rhodesia is every bit as progressive as Northern Rhodesia and I think it is no over-statement to say that both territories are doing everything in their power to further the advance of the African. Southern Rhodesia does not put the emphasis on political development. In Northern Rhodesia, in my opinion unfortunately, too much emphasis is put on political development. I would much

rather see development in both territories directed towards economic progress. Political progress can follow in due course.

"Regarding the opinions of the Africans themselves concerning federation, this is one of the most difficult political problems that has faced me during the past few years. If one were to ask ninety per cent. of the African people in Northern Rhodesia what federation was, I doubt if they would know to what one was referring. I think the other ten per cent. would have an idea, but the native is traditionally against change. I think that is an accepted fact. The native of Northern Rhodesia has expressed his opposition to federation with Nyasaland for an entirely different reason. I was told by a fairly well-known native that the main objection to federation with Nyasaland was that Nyasalanders would come down quite frequently to Northern Rhodesia for employment, usually getting the best jobs and generally collecting the best wives that were going. That might seem rather a futile reason but to the African it is quite an important one."

The African Viewpoint

I can say for the Africans in Northern Rhodesia that we do not want either self-government or federation as outlined by Mr. Welensky. These proposals merely mean more power for European Unofficial Members. We prefer to remain a British Protectorate under the direct control of the Colonial Office until such time as we are capable of bearing our full share of the responsibilities of Government.

According to what Mr. Welensky says, Southern Rhodesia does not put emphasis on political development of the Africans but in Northern Rhodesia we do. Therefore we foresee danger in being federated to Southern Rhodesia. Without political power we shall not be able to defend our rights as indigenous

* Reported in the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 15 May, 1950.

people. Without a say in the government of our country the fruits of economic development will fall largely into the outstretched hands of European settlers.

If Mr. Welensky thinks that ninety per cent. of the African people in Northern Rhodesia do not know what federation is, why then does he attempt to force them to accept something that they do not understand? The Africans who oppose "federation" *know and understand what it is and why it is proposed*. They oppose Federation with the welfare and interests of their people at heart, and, in fact, *they are fully backed by the mass for whom they are speaking*. This would be proved if a referendum was taken.

It is not true to say that the African is traditionally against change, but it is true that the African will not accept changes which are not beneficial to his country. We wish to be protected by the direct representatives of His Majesty's Government. Under this protection our progress may be slow but it is assured. Federation, amalgamation or self-government by a European minority will give us no such assurance.

It is not true that the main objection to federation with Nyasaland is that Nyasalanders would frequently come to Northern Rhodesia for employment and get the best jobs and collect the best wives. Historically and geographically, Nyasaland is Northern

Rhodesia's next door neighbour. We are kinsmen. There were inter-marriages between the two countries long before Europeans came to Africa. The relations between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have always been very cordial, and the reason why we object to the proposed federation is that we are not yet ready for it.

Both Nyasaland and ourselves see danger in the proposals as far as African interests and the stature of the two Protectorates are concerned. In addition to that the proposed "federation" is not only for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but it includes also the unwelcome Southern Rhodesia. We like our brothers and sisters in Southern Rhodesia but we disapprove of the Government's native policy.

If, as suggested by Mr. Welensky, there will be a further meeting about "federation" between Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia under the chairmanship of a representative of the United Kingdom Government, then the African Representative Council, the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, the Protectorate Council and the Nyasaland African Congress should be allowed to send delegates to that meeting. African Members of both Legislative Councils should also attend and take part in all discussions.

"Britain believes that reason is better than force." (Clement Attlee).

AS OTHERS SEE US

This is the second of two articles in which Rita Hinden describes some American reactions to British colonialism. It deals with the climate of opinion she found, last June, at Lake Success. In the intervening months there has been a striking change in the British attitude there, and, no doubt, a corresponding change in the reactions of others towards us.

I HAVE already described the difficulties which any British visitor encounters in the United States when he tries to expound the change which has come over British colonial policy in these last years. Our difficulties have been increased beyond measure by the British attitude on colonial problems at UNO. Because the United Nations headquarters happen to be situated in the United States on the threshold of New York's intensive political life, what happens there is always hot news for the American Press; it engages public attention in a way

that UNO activities certainly do not in Britain; and is reported, often verbatim, in the copious local newspapers. Politically-minded Americans who wish to form an impression of the colonial policy of other nations, find it simple enough to take a train out to Lake Success and to listen in to the proceedings of the Trusteeship Council or the Special Committee on Dependent Territories. There they see the different powers at work and the opinions they form permeate back into American thought.

I came across an example of this early in

my stay in New York. 'Tell me,' said an official of the A.F. of L., 'about slavery in the British Colonies.' 'But there is no slavery worth speaking of,' I replied. He frankly did not believe me. 'Why, then,' he demanded, 'did Britain oppose an enquiry suggested by the Americans into slavery and forced labour? You would only have done this if you had something to hide.' I learned later that we had opposed this proposal, seeing it as just another opportunity for Russia and her satellites to put us on the spot while refusing to allow a similar enquiry into areas of their own which did not classify as Colonies. But the impression that we had something to conceal remained.

This is typical of the difficulties which Britain faces at the United Nations, and typical of the bad reputation she has earned for herself in not taking up the challenge. From the start of United Nations action on colonial affairs, the Russian bloc, some of the Latin-American states and also some of the Arabs have—for varying reasons—launched the most vitriolic attacks on the colonial powers. As the leader of these powers Britain has borne the brunt. The attacks have often been grossly unfair, as often as not based on ignorance, and suggest no real desire to help the colonial peoples. They have been purely and simply propaganda gambits and Britain has writhed under the impact. The position has been made worse by the ambiguities of the United Nations Charter. What exactly did that Charter lay down? For the Trust Territories there was little difference of opinion—these would be supervised by a Trusteeship Council to which Annual Reports and petitions had to be submitted and which would send Missions to investigate the position on the spot. Where the real trouble has arisen is as regards the great mass of the remaining dependent territories which have never been submitted to trusteeship, and which include populations of about 200 million souls as against the 10 millions in the Trust Territories. For these Colonies *no* machinery of supervision was provided in the Charter; *nothing* more was laid down but that the administering powers should submit reports to the Secretary-General of UNO on the social, economic and educational problems of their territories, with all mention of the *political* information carefully omitted.

From the start demands were made to read something more into these provisions than

was actually laid down. A Special Committee was set up to which the information was submitted; year after year a battle ensued as to the legality of this Committee's existence and activities. Year by year the British and the other colonial powers—seeing how the Committee was used as a pawn in political warfare—opposed the extension of its life, but were always defeated. Year by year attempts were made to compel the administering powers to submit political information, which they repeatedly opposed—eventually it was agreed that the information should then be submitted voluntarily.

In the face of these continued defeats the British representatives have co-operated, but sullenly and in an atmosphere of protest. They would oppose valuable resolutions; they would volunteer the minimum of information; they sat, like death-heads at the banquet. The last thing Britain did was to give any moral leadership.

The situation was exacerbated by certain very real difficulties in the British colonial structure. British Colonies are not directly ruled from Whitehall—though it is a common fallacy that they are. Pretty well every Colony has its own Legislative Council through which legislation must pass, and as the years have gone by these Councils are being run increasingly—in numbers and in democratic choice—by representatives of the colonial peoples. More and more the reserved powers remaining to governors are resented in the Colonies and any attempt to apply them evokes immediate hostility. When it comes, therefore, to agreeing to any action in the Colonies, the British representatives have claimed that they can only support the recommendation if a 'colonial application clause' is applied—meaning that the matter must go before each individual Colony and be approved by its own Legislative Council. This is immediately interpreted by other nations as an attempt to *prevent* the Colonies from having conditions as progressive as the metropolitan country itself. The conception of a half-way house towards self-government—which is now in fact the situation in most Colonies—is simply not understood. As one delegate said, 'The Colonies are either free or slaves. They are not free; therefore they must be slaves.' Whenever Britain has tried to introduce the colonial application clause she has been defeated. In extreme irritation she may then

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COLONIAL OPINION . . .

Conflict in Colonial Policy

A leading Jamaican politician has expressed in a letter to the *The Times* (19.7.1950) the view that the United Kingdom policy of self-government for the Colonies is at variance with the economic relationship between Britain and the Colonies, and suggests a remedy.

BUT once self-government is conceded to a Crown colony—what then? Without recourse to the markets of Great Britain on preferential terms the majority of the British colonies would soon become insolvent, a condition hardly consistent with the United Kingdom's undertaking to improve colonial living standards . . .

It is only with great difficulty that time for discussion of colonial problems can be found on the floor of the House of Commons. Thus the far-reaching issues of British colonial policy are mainly handled at an extremely pedestrian and Treasury-dominated departmental level.

The objective should be to achieve closer contact between the political powers of Great Britain and her colonies. To this end one possible solution would be the setting up of a consultative assembly on colonial affairs—representative of members of the mother of Parliaments and of the legislatures of the British colonies. This assembly, meeting annually, would discuss subjects of mutual import such as trade and defence. Joint committees, drawn from the United Kingdom and colonial parliaments, could be set up by the assembly to study the particular problems of geographical groups of colonies.

It seems almost incredible that whereas British political leaders are spending many weeks each year at Strasbourg in an attempt to co-ordinate the politics of the sovereign states of western Europe, nothing is being done at a similar level to bring together in annual conclave the political leaders of the British colonies and the United Kingdom. Possibly it is not yet realised that in 1949 Britain's exports to British colonies and protectorates greatly exceeded her exports to "Council of Europe" countries. In the European Assembly British statesmen strive to promote centripetal tendencies. In the colonial empire British indifference and lack of understanding are generating forces wholly centrifugal. If the spread of world Communism is to be arrested, a new and truly

inspired approach to the relationship between the United Kingdom and the colonial peoples is urgently called for. It is only at the political level that a better understanding can be achieved.

Yours faithfully,

R. L. M. KIRKWOOD.

Legislative Council, Jamaica.

The Tree of Liberty

July 4th was observed in Nigeria as a day of mourning for the death of the 21 Enugu miners killed at Enugu on November 18, 1949. In some towns African services were held. In Lagos, Catholic clergy held a requiem service. The *Daily Times* appeared with a black band on its front page. The *West African Pilot*, from which the following was extracted, was printed on yellow paper.

IN sack cloth and ashes, all Nigeria from the East to the West, from the North to the South, and everywhere, raise to-day plaintive voices, singing the dirge in memory of the twenty-one miners shot without reason at the foot of Obwetti Hill by the British-controlled Police on the immediate order of Mr. F. S. Philip, Senior Superintendent of Police. Thanks to alien rule.

We can imagine the souls that have been forced out of physical existence, not by the will of their Creator, but by the bullets of the almighty whiteman, sitting on bleak stones in the cold chamber of death and weeping like the Three Grey Sisters over their cursed lot and wondering what the future of the dear ones they have left behind would be.

We can hear them say, amidst their sobs. "Hast thou O Lord created the blackman to remain for ever the punching bags of the self-styled superior race? When good God shall their freedom come that they die no more unnatural death from the bullets of those they have not provoked?"

Yes, the twenty-one miners are mourning with us to-day in their invisible existence, praying that the blood which has been spilt be not in vain. Already from the pool of their blood the tree of Nigerian unity has grown. May from this same pool also grow the tree of Nigerian liberty and spread out in strength to give shelter and consolation to a benighted race.

Gold Coast Hero-Worship

At the end of August it was reported that the Gold Coast Convention Peoples Party was preparing to launch a new "positive action" campaign. "Positive action" in January, 1950, led to the imprisonment of

a number of people, principally Kwame Nkrumah, who is still in jail. Others have been welcomed as "prison graduates" on their release, each release being an occasion for demonstrations. The Party is sufficiently well-organised to have won the municipal elections in Accra and Cape Coast and a by-election for a seat in the Legislative Council. Observers have noticed one dangerous tendency, on which the following extract throws some light.

"IGNORANCE, superstition and alien obstruction notwithstanding, so long as we will to be free, the liberation of Ghana is bound to be objectified somehow, somewhere! Thus we introduce our readers to-day to the incredible story which our Ashanti reporter sends us from Bechem. At a C.P.P. (Convention People's Party) rally on Sunday, July 9th, 1950, a large green snake wriggled through the thick crowds and scrambled towards the spot on the platform where Kwame Nkrumah's portrait stood. In sending the report our reporter suggesting the following heading, which everyone who saw the scene, interpreted to be its meaning. 'Even Snakes Worship Nkrumah.' And that is the spirit in which we are waging the struggle for Ghana's liberation."

—"Daily Express,"
Accra, July 20, 1950.

Call to U.N.O.

In the early summer months, another Trust Territory, this time in the Pacific, was visited by a United Nations Trusteeship Council Mission. The territory of New Guinea, with the adjacent islands of New Ireland and New Britain, is administered by Australia. The following petition, printed without alteration, was sent to the Visiting Mission from a remote village:

Territories of Papua, New Guinea,
Town of Kavieng, New Ireland.

To the United Nations Mission on Tour at
Kavieng. May 18th, 1950.

I SPEAK now for all people of Natsi Tribe, who you will not see on your visit Kavieng, they live too far away.

1. We have no complaint to make to you, but if you want to help us, we ask you to strengthen the hands of our Government in New Ireland, in whom we have trust.

2. We want a fair chance to buy copra sacks, and we want a fair prices in the Chinese stores.

3. We are at the beginning of the road, we stand here in front of a club house built by our own hands and welcome you to New Ireland.

4. We want your Mission to understand, that we are happy with Australian Government. And frightened of Indonesians, Chinese, Japanese or Germans. Australian people are

the only people we have seen who do not want to steal our land.

5. We want a School Teacher to come to teach in this club, because we have built a room for teaching boys at Kavieng. We would like you to help us to get a School Teacher.

6. Just now we have a lot of Doctors from the South Pacific Commission looking at our villages, and making tests of blood and other things. We hope that we will get more Doctors who will not just make tests but do some things for the Diseases they find. We want to help all the Doctors, but it is better if they do work. And not only tests and go away.

7. We are sorry you cannot stay longer with us. You must strengthen the hands of our Government in New Guinea, which is all the time fighting to get the things we need.

Thank you to you Sir,

I am the Chairman of the New Ireland Native Club.

(Signed) BOAS BUMBI Tel. Technician.
Received at United Nations Headquarters:
27 June, 1950.

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vote against the whole resolution which in practice she probably favours and has already carried out wherever she can.

British unpopularity at UNO has been heightened by our equivocal attitude towards South Africa. South Africa is probably the least liked of all countries at Lake Success, but—always on the grounds of an impeccable legality—Britain has managed to abstain from condemning her. It was strictly against the provisions of the Charter that the Reverend Michael Scott appeared before the 4th Committee of the Assembly, and legally Britain had a perfect case for opposing his intervention. But legality and morality are not interchangeable terms; and while Britain has accused others of illegality, she has suffered the stigma of immorality. It is excellent news that (as reported in *Comment* on page 2) Britain has at last decided on a change of front.

On the whole, the way world opinion now is, no nation which is still an imperial power can expect understanding, still less popularity. With all his desire to appreciate Britain in these difficult years, the average American does not begin to understand the nuances of British colonial policy. He remembers 1776; he knows that he dislikes 'colonialism,' and that, apparently, is all there is to it.

Account of Stewardship

While the whole problem of 'colonialism' is hotly debated throughout the world, the hard, detailed, flogging work of all that is involved in social and political advancement goes on, day by day, in each individual territory. The Colonial Office now tells the fascinating story of this work, over the last five years, in East and Central Africa. We sketch, below, the main lines of progress. Whether or not countries are self-governing, here are the perennial problems which confront us all.

FIVE YEARS' work in Somaliland, Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia is described in **The British Territories in East and Central Africa, 1945-1950.**¹

Beginning with a brief historical survey, the Report outlines the establishment of the East African High Commission to co-ordinate services common to the three East African territories, the work of the less successful Central African Council, and the steps taken in co-operation with other countries in Africa. It includes a brief statement on the position of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika under the United Nations Charter, and a very brief statement on exports to hard-currency countries. Had there been some reference to the strategic importance of East and Central Africa, we should have had a clear picture of the territories in their world setting.

Within the territories themselves, there have been no such startling political advances* as those made in West Africa since the war. There are no Africans yet on the Executive Councils in this region, though Africans are nominated to the Legislative Councils. The principal changes have for the time being strengthened rather the European element in the population—namely, the granting of unofficial majorities in the Legislative Councils of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, and the establishment of the "Member" system in the Executive Councils in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika, where non-officials have charge of a number of government departments. These non-officials are at present all Europeans, but there is no bar to their work being performed in future by Africans, Indians or Arabs.

Local Government

For the Africans, probably the most far-reaching changes are those in rural local government—so many that they occupy 12 pages of the Report.

In Uganda, the Kingdom of Buganda has the most complicated structure, culminating in the Great Lukiko or Council of the Kabaka, whose 36 non-official members are chosen through a succession of subordinate councils. Parish, District and Provincial Councils have been established in the last two years in the other parts of Uganda, and have exercised a measure of responsibility, both executive and financial, for such services as primary education, public health, agriculture and veterinary services, which had previously been financed directly by the Protectorate Government.

¹Cmd. 7987. *H.M. Stationery Office*. cs.

* For details of the political and constitutional position see the special number of *Venture*, June, 1950, which was entirely devoted to this subject.

Kenya is busy transforming its Local Native Councils into African District Councils. The new Councils will consist of elected and nominated members, and will have powers to make by-laws and to raise revenue. The Report describes as "the mainspring of the whole affair" the proposal for a standing committee for African District Councils, which will consist of three officials and six Africans, including two of the African members of the Legislative Council.

Tanganyika is even more revolutionary. While Kenya retains separate European and African local councils, and mixes the races only in Nairobi and Mombassa, Tanganyika has already formed two inter-racial Provincial Councils, and more are to follow. It is hoped shortly to introduce election for the African members. The Provincial Councils are taking over a considerable measure of responsibility from the central government. Below them, there are village and district councils, all of which, except the Bukoba Council of Chiefs, now contain elected commoners as well as chiefs. The third important development in Tanganyika is the federation of chiefdoms, resulting in the formation of the Chagga Native Authority Council in 1946 (previously 19 separate chiefdoms). The process is being extended throughout the Territory. As is usually the case where local government changes are concerned, "the demand for such measures does not in any extent stem from the people; the initiative is still largely with the British administration and some of the more progressive chiefs and elders."

Democratisation is under way also in Northern Rhodesia. Here, the Paramount Chief and Native Council of Barotseland appointed a Council of Commoners in 1947, and in the following year introduced an electoral system. Elsewhere, the old Native Authorities have been and are being completely reorganised—to include, in addition to chiefs and traditional councillors, elected members and "specialist" councillors. These last are educated men of tribal standing, generally popularly selected, who take charge of specific departments of local government and are paid for their services. In Northern Rhodesia, as in Kenya, African councils are very willing to raise local rates. At the top of the structure are the Provincial Councils. These, by contrast with those in Tanganyika and Uganda, are wholly African, and purely advisory. They exist mainly to express African opinion and to send delegates to the African Representative Council which was established in 1948, and which elects two of its members to sit in the Legislative Council.

Nyasaland also has advisory Provincial Councils, but here the commoners are appointed, not elected. In 1946 the African Protectorate Council was estab-

lished, with a majority of chiefs. The Councils at lower levels are extremely varied in composition and character, and democratisation proceeds slowly, though with the interesting feature that some of them include women.

The People

Other interesting sections of the Report deal with the most basic problem of all—the quality and use of the human and natural resources of the area.

Much work is now being done under Government auspices to combat the prevalent malnutrition amongst Africans, which leads to "impaired resistance to disease, reduced physical energy and working capacity." Tanganyika is giving a mid-day meal to some of its children, while Kenya has introduced milk in schools in Nairobi. Africans are said to be building better houses for themselves, and there are improvements in housing schemes on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt and on large agricultural enterprises. In the towns, however, housing remains an acute problem—Northern Rhodesia, for example, reports that the African population of its major towns have doubled in the past three years. There have been improvements in health services, but these have been severely hindered by lack of staff. The training of African dispensers, nurses and assistant health officers has gone ahead, but African doctors are still lacking.

Progress in education has been assisted by grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, but facilities have failed to keep pace with the rapidly growing numbers of European, Asian and African children of school age. Increased contributions from the European and Asian communities to supplement Government grants are being discussed: the Africans have shown themselves very willing to assist the Government in paying for their education and most of the local authorities voluntarily levy rates for that purpose. The Report comments that nothing in post-war Africa is more striking than the universal and insistent demand for education.

Only in the big towns in Northern Rhodesia is there compulsory education for Africans. The percentage of African children at school varies throughout the territories, but is as low as 20 per cent. in Tanganyika and 17 per cent. in Nyasaland. Worse still, most of those who do attend are not kept at school for a sufficient period. Only a fraction reach School Certificate standard. Of all the difficulties to be overcome the lack of teachers is probably the greatest. Teaching-training facilities have been considerably expanded, and the length and quality of training courses improved. African women are coming forward in increasing numbers to be trained as teachers—in Uganda, where the percentage is highest, in 1949 there were 633 women in training out of a total of 1,870. It is good to record also a slight improvement in technical education, which gives hope that Africans will not be permanently outclassed by Indians in skilled and semi-skilled work.

The Land

The most urgent need everywhere is for agricultural improvement. Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia are still not self-sufficient in maize, while the drought and famine of 1948-9 reveal the tragic weakness of Nyasaland. With a steadily growing population and an increase of cash crops, the need for checking soil erosion and of improving the fertility of the soil

and diversifying crops is pressing. Water supplies everywhere are being slowly improved, large areas are being cleared of tsetse-fly, and terraces are being constructed against erosion, particularly in Kenya, where the Central Provinces alone now have 81,000 acres terraced, as compared with 23,000 in 1944.

All such improvements depend, in the last resort, on the development of new farming systems. Experiments are being carried out with group farms where the farmers agree to redistribution of their holdings, so that the whole area may be farmed as a whole. Individual ownership is retained, though co-operative marketing is encouraged. In Uganda, group farming in two areas is being combined with the introduction of mechanised agriculture. It is an uphill job, as apart from the natural conservatism of the peasant, the Africans, especially in Kenya, are suspicious that the improvement of their land may lead to alienation.

Drive for Development

Such agricultural improvements constitute the foundation of the territories' major development plans. There is a parallel drive for improvement in roads, railways, port facilities and air communications, all of which are receiving attention. It is notable that the Tanganyika groundnut scheme has acted as "a great catalyst of development" and in particular has opened up the Southern Provinces, where mining schemes are now feasible. In Uganda, the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme will speed up industrial development. Large textile spinning, weaving and finishing mills are part of the scheme, while the extent and quality of iron ore deposits in the Eastern Provinces are being investigated.

Trade Unions

If such plans go through, East Africa will see the growth of a strong industrial element in its population. The supply of labour already presents an acute problem, while its handling is an even more delicate matter. The trade union movement shows every sign of a need for an overhaul. In Uganda, there are only two unions registered, one an organisation of employers; in Tanganyika there are now only two unions registered, neither of them effective. In Nairobi, in May, the East African Trades Union Congress called a strike when their secretary, Makhan Singh, and their chairman, Fred Kubai, were arrested. Makhan Singh, an Indian Communist, had captured the struggling trade union movement in spite of the work of the British Trade Union Adviser. Only in Northern Rhodesia is there a stable African Mine-workers' Union with 19,000 members, which has achieved increases in wages by negotiation. The trade union movement in East and Central Africa is virtually a post-war growth and the appointment of Labour Officers with trade union experience has not achieved the success that might have been expected.

The Report covers also other subjects of importance to the student of colonial affairs, such as scientific research, community development, co-operative marketing, and finance. The foregoing paragraphs give some indication of the scope of the work being officially undertaken in East and Central Africa. The Report does not claim to analyse the political and social trends which affect, and are affected by, the administrative effort that it describes.

Guide to Books

Islam in the Sudan

By J. Spencer Trimingham. (Geoffrey Cumberlege and Oxford University Press. 21s.)

For the layman this is a most difficult book. The text is bespattered with untranslated Arabic words, and the historical section is so detailed that only those intimate with the Sudan and its people can hope to read it without constant reference to the maps provided. Moreover, the author's great fund of imagination and emotional understanding fails to penetrate into his style, so the reader is not carried along through difficult material on a wave of fine language, but must plod tediously through a textbook. Is the effort worth while? Most emphatically yes. Here is much more than the title of the book suggests. Mr. Trimingham explains, 'I am not describing theoretical Islam . . . but the living religion of a particular region. . . I have tried to make my presentation sociological as well as Islamic . . . synthetic as well as specialised.' So he traces the movements of tribal groups from the earliest days, the pre-Christian influence of Egypt, the sixth-century introduction of Christianity through the missionary endeavour of the Church of Egypt which thus made 'the first contact of Christianity with the Negro race,' and the Arab expedition into Nubia which brought the creed of the Prophet to the Middle Nile. The first treaty lasted for 600 years, for the Nubians had not been defeated, and the Arabs, though they brought in the slave-trade, asked for little. Their advent in Egypt, one learns, was even welcomed: 'It was of no little advantage for us to be delivered from the cruelty of the Romans,' wrote Michael the Syrian, 'from their malice, from their anger, from their cruel zeal against us, and to find ourselves at peace.' Egyptian influence persisted in Nubia till the Turkish conquest in 1518, was renewed in the nineteenth century by Muhammad Ali, after which it was maintained till the Mahdi's revolt. Meanwhile the Arabs came in in sufficiently large numbers to determine the basic religion of the resulting mixed population. Other influences came from the south, from Abyssinia, and from the Muslim states of West Africa. The people of the Sudan, in fact, have stood at the confluence of many cultural streams, all of which have left their mark on their religious customs and beliefs.

As is so noticeable in Hinduism or in the Roman Catholic Church, there is a world of difference between Islam at its highest and lowest cultural levels. In the Sudan it has been affected by primitive beliefs and practices which are in some cases unknown in other Muslim areas. Mr. Trimingham stresses the effect of Negro emotionalism and susceptibility to mass-suggestion. It would seem to be no accident that Sufi mysticism has gained such a hold in the Sudan, and that dervishes and mahdis have played so large a part in political as well as religious life. Indeed, the most famous Mahdi, whose revolt killed Gordon, gave to the Muslim peoples of the Sudan their first national coherence, achieved in supporting his messianic attempt to establish 'a new world state—the rule of God on earth.' To all this has been added the clashing influence of the West, which has fundamentally disturbed the small educated section of the population, and has, in addition, established political control over the whole area of the present Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, which includes large numbers of southern 'pagans' who have remained outside the Islamic fold.

The Sudan, therefore, has deep-rooted problems like other parts of Africa. There are few books which contribute so largely to an understanding of these problems as *Islam in the Sudan*.

Le Problème Marocain en 1949

By Pierre Parent.
(Imprimerie Régionale, Toulouse.)

This well-seasoned cry for justice is addressed to the common man of France. French public opinion is ill-informed about the Protectorate of Morocco. A brief historical survey is given. Tribute is paid to those Frenchmen in Morocco who are worthy representatives of the finest traditions of France. But effective power is not in their hands. Evidence is given that in Morocco to-day there is harsh repression, severe censorship, humiliating discrimination against the very people whom the Protectorate should protect. Liberty, equality, fraternity are reserved for the Europeans. Parent appeals to the electorate of democratic France to uphold the honour of their country by supporting the just claims of the Moroccan people and demanding change of government in Morocco.

The Floods Came

By Phyllis L. Garlick (Church Missionary Society, 1s.).

This pamphlet, sub-titled "C.M.S. in a changed world," refers to the whole field of C.M.S. work, in India, China, Africa, the Middle East, and with the aborigines in Australia, but it is much more (and much less) than an account of the manifold activities of the Society which was founded in 1799. It is an attempt to sum up the new trends of thought in the Church in a re-statement of the aims of the C.M.S. 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel,' says the inscription on C.M.S. London headquarters. Miss Garlick reinterprets this to-day: "Go ye into all the world of those ye seek to serve. Try to understand their real needs, their background, thought, and customs. Enter more deeply into the way in which the African is thinking to-day: into the national aspirations as well as the spiritual hunger of the thoughtful Indian and Pakistani; into the attitude of the Christian Chinese towards Communism; into the poverty and hopelessness of the villager living at starvation level. Go ye into all their world and preach the Gospel there.' This interpretation is not merely a reaction to the challenge of Communism, though the social implications of the Church's teaching loom large in Miss Garlick's mind. On the other hand, it is not stated with any very searching theological or philosophical arguments. The reinterpretation is made for the ordinary men and women who form the general body of missionaries who work in the field, and as such it should be welcomed but not overestimated. Perhaps it is not accidental that the only really profound contribution to thought in the book comes from the area where the floods roll most fiercely—and from that exceptional man, the Bishop of Hong Kong.

COLONIAL DOLLARS

A statement showing Colonial trade with the dollar area was published in *Hansard* of July 27. The figures given show estimated payments for goods imported from the dollar area in the last half of 1948 and in the first and second halves of 1949, and receipts for goods exported to the dollar area during the same period. The devaluation of the pound took place in the second half of 1949. It will be seen that, on balance, the Colonies earn more dollars than they spend. Their dollar earnings are pooled with those of the rest of the sterling area, which includes some countries—especially India—which spend many more dollars than they earn. Capital transactions and "invisible" earnings are not included—this affects particularly the deficit shown for the West Indies, which have considerable dollar earnings, not shown, from the tourist trade. In practice, Colonies with dollar balances receive the equivalent of those balances in sterling. The figures take no account of African sales of gold to the United Kingdom for sterling.

	\$ million			
	1948 2nd half	1949 1st half	Total 1948-9	1949 2nd half
<i>Payments for imports:</i>				
West Africa	10	10	20	10
West Indies	60	60	120	45
Far East	50	40	90	25
Other	15	15	30	20
<i>Total</i>	135	125	260	100
<i>Receipts from exports:</i>				
West Africa	45	70	115	25
West Indies	25	30	55	30
Far East	135	125	260	80
Other	15	15	30	10
<i>Total</i>	220	240	460	145

PRODUCE MARKETING BOARDS

An important feature of economic development in recent years has been the establishment of marketing boards, both in this country and in the Colonies. In the House of Commons on July 26 the Secretary of State gave the following list of Boards at present operating in colonial territories, handling produce for export:

- The Gold Coast Marketing Board.
- The Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board.
- The Gold Coast Agricultural Produce Marketing Board.
- The Nigeria Groundnut Marketing Board.
- The Nigeria Oil Palm Produce Marketing Board.
- The Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board.
- The Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board.
- The Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board.
- The Uganda Lint Marketing Board.
- The Bugishu Coffee Scheme Board (Uganda).

- The Uganda Non-Native Coffee Marketing Board.
- The Uganda Coffee Control.
- The Coffee Marketing Board of Kenya.
- The Kenya Sisal Board.
- The Pyrethrum Board of Kenya.
- The Kenya Pig Industry Board.
- The Kenya Co-operative Creameries, Ltd.
- The Kenya Farmers' Association.
- The Tanganyika Coffee Growers' Association, Ltd.
- The Moshi Native Coffee Board (Tanganyika).
- The Bukoba Native Coffee Board (Tanganyika).
- The Tanganyika Pyrethrum Board.
- The Zanzibar Clove Growers' Association.
- The Native Tobacco Board (Nyasaland).
- The Citrus Growers' Association, Ltd. (Jamaica).
- The Co-operative Citrus Growers' Association, Ltd. (Jamaica).
- The Co-operative Citrus Growers' Association of Trinidad and Tobago, Ltd.
- The Grenada Co-operative Nutmeg Association.
- The St. Vincent Arrowroot Association.
- The British Guiana Rice Marketing Board.
- The Fiji Copra Board.

In Uganda, the Cotton Price Assistance Fund stood at £7,351,206 on March 31, 1950, and the Coffee Fund at £2,037,106. These funds are administered by Government.

The Kenya Sisal Board and the Pyrethrum Boards and the Fiji Copra Board do not operate price stabilisation funds.

A typical example of the working of these Boards may be found in the recently-published Report of the Nigeria Oil Palm Produce Marketing Board (*First Annual Report, 6d.*). All palm oil and kernels produced for export are bought by agents licensed by the Board—principally large foreign-controlled firms like the United Africa Company, the C.W.S., the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, etc., but grades are prescribed and producers' prices fixed by the Board. The produce is delivered to seven Bulk Oil Plants—all owned by the U.A.C.—at the ports. The Board is responsible for selling abroad, and has already made an agreement with the British Ministry of Food, which will buy the whole export up till 1952.

In 1949 the Board paid higher prices than producers had received in 1948: £26 instead of £21 for a ton of palm kernels, and for a ton of palm oil, from £26 5s. to £42 15s., according to grade, as compared with £26 5s. to £32 5s. in 1948. By selling palm kernels at £50 and palm oil at £75 and £95 a ton, it made a profit of £5,670,584 in its first nine months. This profit, together with the reserves taken over from the West African Produce Control Board which previously functioned, constitutes the reserve fund of the Board, to be used for price stabilisation when the world price of palm produce falls, research, and general development. So far the Board has allocated £530,608 to the Benin Research Station, and £2,587,500 to the Regional Production Boards recently established by the Nigerian Government "to promote the development of the producing industries concerned,

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CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to the following passage appearing in *Compass Points of Venture*, July, 1950.

'In Northern Rhodesia, one may note, with mixed feelings, the opening of the permanent headquarters of the silicosis bureau at Kitwe in the copperbelt, which will deal with upwards of 40,000 people a year, afflicted in the lungs by rock-particles from the mines.'

The statement that the Northern Rhodesia Silicosis

Medical Bureau at Kitwe 'will deal with upwards of 40,000 people a year, afflicted in the lungs by rock-particles from the mines' is quite incorrect and very seriously misleading. There would appear to have been some misunderstanding and I shall be grateful if *Venture* will give publicity to the facts which are as follows.

Every person in the Northern Rhodesia mining industry who is or will be exposed to the risk of silicosis (or, in your words, to affliction in the lungs by rock-particles), is examined by the Bureau before engagement and there after annually. These are precautionary examinations and in the case of those already employed as miners are required by law to be performed whether the individuals concerned show or not or ever have shown or not any symptom of lung trouble and whether the individuals have made any complaint or not. New legislation expected to be passed in September, 1950, will give to each miner the right to one examination each year, in addition to those required by law, if he desires such additional examination.

It is these precautionary examinations which lead to the Bureau's having to deal with upwards of 40,000 people per annum. Unfortunately, through some misunderstanding or inadvertence you have given that figure ('upwards of 40,000') as the number of actual sufferers from silicosis dealt with annually.

As to the number of persons actually 'afflicted with the lungs by rock-particles from the mines' the fact is that from the first discovery of silicosis in Northern

Rhodesia mines in 1943 up to 31st December, 1949, the total of persons found to have silicosis is 280 (Europeans 133; Africans 147). Among that number were no less than 133 (Europeans 117; Africans 16) whose silicosis was attributable, at least in part, to mining elsewhere than in Northern Rhodesia.

Yours, etc.,

JOHN HASLAM, M.D.

(Chairman, Silicosis Medical Bureau of N. Rhodesia.)

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and the benefit and prosperity of the producers and the areas of production." It intends to devote 70% of its surplus to price stabilisation, and estimates that its reserves are not large enough.

An attempt has been made to associate with the Board representatives of the population of the areas concerned, by establishing a Nigeria Palm Oil Produce Representative Committee, which advises the Board on purchasing, grading, and matters of general policy. This Committee also advises the Regional Production Development Boards on matters concerning the industry and the areas of production. The Representative Committee consists of two senior officials of the Government's Agricultural Department, one representative of the licensed buying agents, two members of the Board, and seven representatives of unofficial opinion in the Eastern and Western Provinces.

It remains to be seen whether the operations of the Board will be fully understood by the people. Experience with cocoa marketing in both Nigeria and the Gold Coast, and of the various crop betterment funds in East Africa, indicates that the producers have difficulty in understanding this complicated and large-scale structure. There is no doubt, however, that controlled marketing has benefited the industries concerned wherever it has been introduced.

For Reference

October, 1950.

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